/8 cont./

175 According to statements of old palm-fiber gatherers on the
648 Aracá, no Indians appeared on this river from the end of the previous century to the end of the twenties of our century. During the months of October and November of the year 1927, palm-fiber gatherers on their way to their places of work saw for the first time small and relatively light-skinned Indians disappearing into the forest thickets. In December, 1927, and January/February, 1928, the settlements were attacked by Indians several times, but the palm-fiber gatherers always managed to put them to flight. During the forenoon of June 28, 1928, there was another attack during which two wives of rubber gatherers and a 12-year-old girl were abducted. After this abduction there was no further Indian attack. Not until 16 years later, in January, 1944, did six
● [439] Indians appear, but this time with friendly intent. They called themselves Surára and wanted to barter for articles of civilization. Later they admitted that their tribe had carried out the earlier attacks. In reply to questions about the two abducted women and the girl, they said that they had died. /9/ The palm-fiber gatherers did not bear them any malice for their previous hostile attitude, for they were glad that they could now carry on their work without fear of the Indians.

439 The Surára cling to their old habits and customs and visit
[115] the palm-fiber gatherers only when they want to barter for knives, axes, pots, etc. According to the statements of the chief of the Surára, they are forced by the Xiriána to barter with the palm-fiber gatherers, for they are obliged to deliver to them all the articles obtained (see also pages 157/163); the Xiriána themselves never have any contact with the civilized inhabitants.

648 In August of the year 1944 the Indian protection post founded in 1940 on the Rio Demini was visited for the first time by some Pakidái. At rather long intervals there have been further visits
[619] by various families of this tribe up to the present time. They, too, however, come at the request of the Xiriána and must hand over to them all the gifts.

/17 cont./
and by Zerries for the Waiká (63).

63. Zerries, 1954b, p. 73.

411

3. War and Hunting Weapons and Accessories

For war and hunting expeditions the Surára and Pakidái, exactly like most of the other forest nomads of South America, use very large bows -- hâtonahî -- and arrows -- xeréka (Ill. 12).

[824] The bows, so-called simple bows because they consist of only one piece, are made out of the heavy black wood of the pupunha or chonta palm (Guilielma speciosa Mart.) and are between 2.03-2.12 meters long. Their tension-strength weight is 32 kilograms and the length of stretch 71 centimeters (64). As

64. Pertinent comparisons with bows of other South American tribes may be found in Ranke's chart (Ranke, 1903, p. 347).

the result of a not too marked, but uniform curvature, they have a symmetrical appearance. While the outer side is flat, the inner side is rounded, so that the cross-section, which in the center amounts to 2-2 1/2 centimeters, appears semicircular. The two ends come to a point (Fig. 2 i).

411 With regard to their construction it may be said that now-
412 adays the bow-staff is first roughly shaped with ax and tercado
322 (large bush-knife (65). (I did not find any stone axes, which

[439]

65. They obtain these objects by barter with piaçabeiros (palm-fiber gatherers) and as gifts from the personnel of the Indian protection post Ajuricaba on the middle Demini.

[439] were perhaps once used in former times.) Subsequently the men shape them with a small knife, which they likewise obtain by barter.

/21 cont./

411 184 there is a Xamatári poisoned arrow in the possession of the Hamburg Museum für Völkerkunde und Vorgeschichte (Boeldecke Collection, 56.15:7).

411 171 114 [139] Métraux writes with reference to the poisoned arrows: "Poisoned arrows were not so widely used by the Indians as is commonly assumed from the exaggerated accounts of the Spanish conquistadors. Curare, which is the most deadly poison known to the Indians, is prepared by relatively few tribes though it is traded throughout wide regions" /cited in English/ (95). Among

95. Métraux, 1949, p. 242.

Karaiben /Carib/ tribes in Guiana, poisoned arrows which are shot with a bow are not very often encountered, for they are documented only for the Makuxf /Macusi/ by Richard Schomburgk (96) and for

96. Richard Schomburgk, 1847, p. 428.

411 171 the Trio by de Goeje (97). It should be mentioned in this connec-

97. de Goeje, 1906, p. 15; Pl. V, Figs. 10-12; Pl. XI, Fig. 22.

tion, however, that many Karaiben, for example, the Arekuná-Taulipang /Arecuna/, shoot small poisoned arrows with a blowgun; this weapon is unknown to the Surára and Pakidái.

278 Arrow poisons:

[192] [184] According to what my Surára informants reported to me, they use three kinds of poison of different strengths, all of which, however, they designate by the general name -- mamokórimaunápe. This name is almost the same as the one which the Waiká, according to Zerries, use for arrow poison -- mamokordi (98).

98. Zerries, 1956b, p. 151.

Surára
Pakidái

/45 cont./

301 in most cases, a silver triangle, a large glass bead, or a fruit pit is fastened at the bottom.

301 When I came to the Surára and Pakidái, a few bead chains
• 439 were already in use. According to their statements, they had obtained the glass beads from the Indian protection post Ajuricaba on the Rio Demini, from rubber and palm-fiber gatherers, and from the Xiriána. The latter had presumably acquired this foreign commodity from Karaiben tribes who, for their part, had received it from the whites. This shows that the barter of glass beads is still carried on vigorously among the Indians themselves (245).

[114]

245. It was already observed by v. Martius that glass beads were traded over wide areas (von Martius, 1867, I, pp. 702 ff.), and Krause also points out that they are greatly prized as trade items (Krause, 1911, p. 279).

7. Hammocks

352
[824] The Surára and Pakidái have three different kinds of hammocks. The hammock of embira (tree bast, Malvaceae sp.) -- yâritanacík -- whose length is between 1.80-1.90 meters, may probably be regarded as the oldest and most primitive form (Ill. 26). It has no weft and consists only of ten to 14 embira strips
[284] 1-2 centimeters wide. These are bent over at the ends and tied together by means of two ropes 1.30-1.40 meters long, which at the same time serve for suspension (Fig. 18a and b). Both ropes are very strong and durable, for they have been plaited in the form of a braid out of three one-centimeter-wide /46/ /Fig. 18 appears
[462] here/ strands of embira. The manufacture of this hammock is
[824] extraordinarily simple and is done only by men. From the embira
[284] tree they remove 10-15 bast strips two meters long and 1-2 centimeters wide, which they tie together in the manner described
412 above, after they have first plaited two ropes. To cut the tree bast they use the little cutia-tooth knife (see p. 119). Since the yâritanacík is extraordinarily light, the men like to use it on their

Surára
Waiká
Shiriana
Pakidái

/55 cont./

The Surára acquire these articles by way of barter through their occasional contacts with the piaçabeiros (palm-fiber gatherers) on the Rio Aracá, while they are given to the Pakidái as gifts by the personnel of the Indian protection post Ajuricaba on the middle Demini. To my question as to whether their ancestors had once used stone axes (I could not discover any), I was always given affirmative replies. They also have a special name for the ax -- hanhokomá. The blade alone is named synonymously, whereas the shaft is called -- hanhokomáhitohí. Most probably the stone axes were acquired by barter, as is the case, according to Schuster, for the Waiká (310). Which tribe furnished this

310. Schuster, 1958b, p. 17.

import article could no longer be determined, but this time the Xiriána seem to be excluded as the intermediaries. Koch-Grünberg writes: "They (the Xiriána) in former times apparently had no axes at all to cut down the forest. At any rate, they did not know what to do with a stone ax that I showed them" (311a).

311a. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 307.

12. Equipment for Climbing

To climb up tall palms with a smooth trunk, such as the açaí (Euterpe oleracea Mart.), bacaba (Oenocarpus distichus or Oenocarpus /56/ bacaba Mart.), bucu (Manicaria saccifera Gaertn.), buriti (Mauritia vinifera Mart.), inaja (Maximiliana regia Mart.), paxiuba (Iriartea exorrhiza Mart.), tucuma palm (Astrocaryum sp.), and others, the Surára and Pakidái use the climbing ring -- horohoromá --, which consists of a split liana (cipó-titica) rolled up several times. The ends of the liana are wound around the ring several times and tied with a knot (Fig. 27). /Fig. 27 appears here./

/79 cont./

222 which can be obtained easily and without danger, for the bees are stingless. Usually they have their nests in hollow trees or in the ground. Occasionally, however, one also sees nests built in tall trees; the latter are then cut down by the men, for the purpose of obtaining the honey. The honey is scooped out of the nest with the hand or with a calabash and put into a folded palm leaf which is then tied together and taken along to the maloka. -- Birds' eggs also constitute a popular addition to the diet, as does the nourishing yolk of the eggs of water turtles; the egg white, on the other hand, is discarded because it has an unpleasant, fish-oil taste. During the dry season, especially during the months December-February, the Surára and Pakidái gather these turtle eggs in great numbers on the sandbanks of the Demini and Aracá. -- [226] Also to be mentioned are crayfish and crabs, which are pulled out of the holes in the mud of the riverbanks. -- I also observed that they eat certain kinds of frogs and spiders, as well as insect larvae, caterpillars, termites, and the hind parts of the leaf-cutter ant (Atta sp.) -- aneanemá.

241 e) Agriculture

Although agriculture among the Surára and Pakidái was introduced only a comparatively short time ago, they have already developed a remarkable system with regard to the laying out of their fields. These are always laid out circularly around the maloka. The procedure is such that, first of all, at the beginning of a dry season, October-November, a rather large piece of forest is cleared, during which it is seen to that the circular shape is [313] produced. To chop down the underbrush and the lianas, the [412] men use the tercados (large bush-knives), and the trees are felled with steel axes (367). After about two months, when the felled

• [439]

367. The Surára obtain these articles of civilization from the palm-fiber gatherers by barter, and the Pakidái get them from the Indian protection post Ajuricaba on the middle Demini.

/82 cont./
252 especially of the tapir, the pieces are left on the rack until they are black and as hard as bone.

[179] Smaller pieces of meat are cooked or boiled in clay vessels (392) and occasionally also in aluminum pots (393), often

[438] 392. These come from the Xiriâna.

• [439] 393. These are trade articles of the caboclos (planters, rubber and palm-fiber gatherers) or gifts from the Indian protection post on the Rio Demini.

together with green bananas, by the women. The pot is simply set between the burning logs. The women are very enthusiastic about my empty gasoline cans, in which they often cooked a whole cutia, paca, or monkey. Snake meat is eaten only in a cooked state. Fish are wrapped in leaves and steamed in the hot ashes.

/83/ Vegetables offer a variety of possibilities in the way of preparation. Bananas are predominantly roasted in hot ashes when they are still green, after the peeling has been removed beforehand (the taste always reminded me of a fresh roll), or cut into small pieces and boiled, in the latter case usually along with meat. A soup which is made out of ripe bananas is regarded as a special delicacy (394). Bananas are seldom eaten

252
262 394. The banana in general and this soup in particular play an important role in the religious and social life of the Surâra and Pakidâi. Young men, during their training period as medicine-man helpers, must be satisfied with a banana as their daily diet (see p. 144). At the festival in memory of the dead such a soup, mixed with the bone ashes of deceased tribesmen, is drunk by the men (see p. 230). Young girls are permitted to eat banana soup as their sole

Surára
Pakidái

/83 cont./

262 Great popularity was also enjoyed among the Surára and Pakidái
● 439 by the roasted manioc flour which they occasionally obtain from the palm-fiber gatherers by barter or from the Indian protection post on the Demini as a gift. They are unable to make it themselves because they do not have the large iron pans for it.

252 Various fruits of wild plants also need special preparation. The white seeds found in the pods of the pacova-sororoca (see p. 168) must be roasted before they are eaten. The taste, by the way, corresponds exactly to roasted maize. /84/ -- The fruits of the pot-tree (see p. 168) are first boiled, for which the women particularly liked to use my empty gasoline cans, and then cut open with the knife of tortoise shell (see p. 118). They are then poured into one or more of the large plaited baskets -- uaramá -- (see p. 107) and hung for four days in the water on the bank of a stream, in order to remove the bitter substances. After that they are thoroughly rubbed by the women with their feet. These fruits, to be sure, occupy only a second-rank position in the favor of the "gourmets," but at least they fill the stomach. Moreover, I was assured that in olden times, that is, before the introduction of the banana, this fruit played a much greater role in the food economy.

263 All the foods mentioned are, as a rule, eaten without spices. Only now and then do some men and women add a little of their
[123] cultivated pepper, which is roasted beforehand. Not a single tribesman developed a taste for my salt, of which I had brought along several kilograms, assuming that the Indians would be pleased about it, and they had no interest whatsoever in acquiring any of it (400).

[146]

400. The amount of salt required by the body is supplied by the wood ashes with which the tobacco roll (see p.190) is mixed.

171 This aversion to salt is also found among many other tribes,
175 and in a report as early as the sixteenth century one can read the
263 following remark: "The forest people cannot use any salt, because it makes them ill, for they are not used to it; if they eat it, they

Surára
Pakidái

/87 cont./

231 writes: "Whether the first hunter-gatherer hordes migrating to
174 America from northeastern and northern Asia by way of the Bering Strait brought the dog along has, apart from the Eskimo dog, not as yet been proved with certainty, even though it is probable. Whether the dogs of the New World can be traced back to such early dogs, that is, of the late glacial to early postglacial times, migrating in with human beings, or whether they have come from autochthonous ancestors of New World origin is a zoological problem that cannot be decided here. Opinions about it differ. In most recent times there seems to be more of a tendency to favor a Neotropical origin of Indian dogs" (420). In this last statement

420. Termer, 1957, p. 2.

Termer refers to comments by Gilmore (421).

421. Gilmore, 1950, p. 377.

235
[439]
[199]

In contrast to the obscure origin of the two breeds of dogs, there is no doubt about that of the cocks -- cacará --, for these were acquired from the caboclos (planters, rubber and palm-fiber gatherers) by barter only a short time ago. Yet I was very much surprised when, on entering the Surára and Pakidái malokas, I found a large number of cocks but no hens (422), although they could

422. Incidentally, these are also called cacará.

obtain these as well. There is no interest in doing so, however, for they keep cocks only for their colorful plumage and their crowing at dawn (423). Most families have one or two, which they

[231]
[191]

423. Ehrenreich reports of the Ipurina, an Aruak /Arawak/ tribe, that they keep only dogs and cocks as domestic animals, and that the latter were very popular in particular as sentinels (Ehrenreich, 1891, p. 61).

P Y 648 ● 439 P [131]

/183 cont./

At the other end of the island of Maraca the territory of the Taurepan (Pemón) begins, and it is interesting to note that about the year 1911 the Casapare, under the command of one captain Kuranaí, had established peaceful contacts with the neighboring Caribe for the purpose of acquiring by barter European utensils, which they valued very highly. The custom of cultivating small plantings, which were noted by Schomburgk, Koch-Grünberg, and Gheerbrandt (1955, p. 345), must also be of Caribe origin.

Y 241 194

Koch-Grünberg (1928, pp. 302-308) was able to publish the first vocabulary of a Yanoama language, and, as the same author points out, some words of Caribe origin can be distinguished in this idiom of the Uraricapará River, /184/ but almost all of them refer to utensils and cultivated plants of Caribe or European origin.

Y 114 192 194

The other group (Waica?) was visited by Koch-Grünberg four weeks after his first encounter with Yanoama people, with whom he lived in a rancheria on the Motomotó across from the Sierra Marutani. This group had relations with the Makú of the Auarí River, from whom they adopted certain cultural elements, such as agriculture. We do not have a vocabulary from this group, but, according to information given to Koch-Grünberg by his native companions, they speak the same Yanoama idiom with slight dialectal differences.

Y 114 Y [648] [177] Y [197]

The expansion of the Casapare toward the north is of recent date, since their sworn enemies, the inhabitants of the Paragua, as well as the Pemón to the northeast, ceased their reprisals and allowed the unhindered advance of the Yanoama nomads. It seems that at the same time the Sanemá of the southwest and the Casapare began to invade the zone. At the present time, the Yanoama dominate as far as the Marí River, a left tributary of the Paragua (5° 10'). The Pemón to the east of the Paragua have vacated the space between this river and the Caroní. Their nuclei are to be found on the Gran Sabana, in the southeastern part of Venezuela. Under the joint influence of civilization and the mission they have lost their characteristics as Caribe

Y 167 648 Y [131] P 131 [167] P 177 797 161

/187 cont./

105 181 241 245 266

The Guaika (Waica) are considered by the above-mentioned author as "the natives with the most primitive and wild life of all those inhabiting the great region of the Venezuelan Guayana..." They have an incipient agriculture; they cultivate bananas and plantains as the principal basis of their diet, which they complement with the fruit of the pijiguao palm. They practice endocannibalism, consuming the bones of the cremated dead.

286 342 411 491 494

Their hammocks are knotted, their houses are triangular, and they use bows and arrows of various types, according to their uses. They keep the bones of many animals, travel by land, very rarely by water, and build bridges similar to the style of the Guaharibo (Sanemá).

/188/ Regarding the Shirianna (Casapare), Montoya says (1958) that "the real Shirianna live on the banks of river, building very stable settlements and devoting themselves to an agriculture already relatively advanced." They obtain curiaras from the Mayoncoc, but have also learned to make their own, although in a rudimentary way. They use bows and arrows for hunting, but "above everything else, they are traders and travelers. They constantly travel into Brazil, leaving from the upper Paragua, using the route of the Shoropae River, Urarikuera and Parima, to Boavista." They differ from the other natives of the Paragua basin in that they are tall and strong, healthy, and well nourished.

361 241 484 439 411

142 146

114 101

The last report on the Yanoama of the northeast was published by Gheerbrandt (1955, pp. 345-349), and in this report there appears for the first time the name Kaserapai, which must be an orthographic variation of the name Casapare which we use to designate a whole subtribe and not only a local group as the above-named author has done.

101 114 648

Navigating the Uraricuera in the year 1950, Gheerbrandt met and heard of various Yanoama groups with different names. Very near the Sierra Marutani he came upon the Guadema on the left bank of the river named. The Guadema were very much afraid of the Kaserapai, who had killed the majority of the Guadema and were in open conflict with Waikas and Waitschas on the Uraricuera. It is possible that this may be a reference to an encounter between Sanemá, Waica, and Casapare groups, but the extant data offer no certainty in this regard.

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema
Makiritare SS20

M
123 Once more we were left on our own, waiting for the plane and making plans for a documentary film we wanted to take back. In the meanwhile a Makiritari showed up. He was a middle-aged man, muscular like a statue, and his skin was the colour of copper. Our visitor had a doleful little voice which contrasted oddly with his athletic appearance. It hovered somewhere behind a perpetual smile, like the crowing of a cock screened off by a flowering hedge. Pedro was the name. He had made his way through the Ventuari and the lower Caura, with *molto tarauaho*—much work, much exertion. . . .

M
[186] Pedro would have come to see us before, but he had been put off by the
M
[752] presence of the Shirians. 'Shirians—bad men,' he told us. 'Me, Pedro, good,
[177] not bad man.' His wife had a mastoid, and he had operated on her with a splinter of glass that had originally been part of a medicine bottle from Las Trinqueras—everything civilized came from Las Trinqueras, the hub of the world. And the woman, a dried-up thirty-year-old, had in fact a deep cut behind her ear which was suppurating. A few injections of penicillin soon put that right, and such was the patient's gratitude that whenever she saw us coming or going she would give us the same meek, piteous look as a lamb about to be slaughtered, and then turn to the others saying: 'What good men, what good men. . .!'

Pedro was a very able fisherman, and when we had supplied him with hooks he went off to the Upper Canaracuni with a child whom we took to be his daughter. But when he came back, he was ashamed of his catch. He thought it wouldn't find favour in our eyes.

'Soto eat them,' he declared, 'Shirians eat them too, but you eat other fish.'

We never could make out whether this was really diffidence on Pedro's part, or whether it was astuteness: so far were we from fully understanding the mentality of primitive men.

Y
*123 We were to hear more about fish and fishing when Auai came back with his
● [139] horde of ruffians, bringing us the promised bananas and sugar-cane and receiving in exchange the few goods we still possessed. Auai went fishing in the
Y
[226] Canaracuni headwaters with barbasco, a vegetable poison frequently used for this purpose. Artur and I decided to go along with him, leaving the others to wait at Kirisochi.

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

little hand, once fashionable in Europe, would probably have made an ideal present for him.

One day, however, a boy passed in front of him, dragging a great sheaf of palm leaves. The Senator stretched out his hand to touch them, as if making sure they were of good quality.

'The Senator has touched the leaves!' I shouted to the others, and from that moment anything The Senator did marked a red-letter day in our calendar.

But at home he was not a figure of quite the same dignity. His back-scratching stick was now replaced by one of the machetes which his tribe had received in payment from us. However, his smile when he saw us again made up for everything—even for that rash behaviour when he had broken the mystic spell of his immobility by stretching out his hand to touch the palm leaves.

We treated the usual cases of worms among the children and one or two not very serious sores, and then returned to the beach, where Jean was waiting for us with Caio and Sempronio. Two days later we were once more at Llantarigña, on our way to the Uarema settlement to make a retake of some film shots we thought we had lost in our recent shipwreck.

The *mereis* were beautifully ripe on the Merevari banks, and at Llantarigña there was a gigantic tree, which Sempronio climbed like a monkey. From his perch on high he threw the fruit down to us, but not before he had sampled the best of them, chuckling and exclaiming in his delight. The *merei* is the red and fleshy fruit of the cashew nut tree. Common in tropical America, it is known on the lower Amazon as the *maranon*. Besides the juicy pulp, there is also the kernel which once freed from the bitter oil which impregnates it can be made into an excellent almond cake, as it is in Guiana.

When we had eaten our fill of these fruits, we decided to sacrifice the tree in order to re-take a scene for our film. We had been puzzling over it and so far had found no satisfactory solution. The scene called for a beautiful tree falling into still water. A tree with fiery red fruits, which would make a tremendous splash. Several Indians would then jump in after the fruits as the current began to sweep them away. This venerable *merei* tree at Llantarigña seemed ideal for the purpose, both in its structure and its position, and we worked on it with our axes for an hour, while I myself, strategically placed with the camera, waited for the big scene. But when the tree did come down the Indians were all on top of me, hurrying out of the way of its fall, so that the foreground of the picture was thick with figures dancing about in clumsy

8: Barker--16 M-5 (ca. 1951-1956) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Waica

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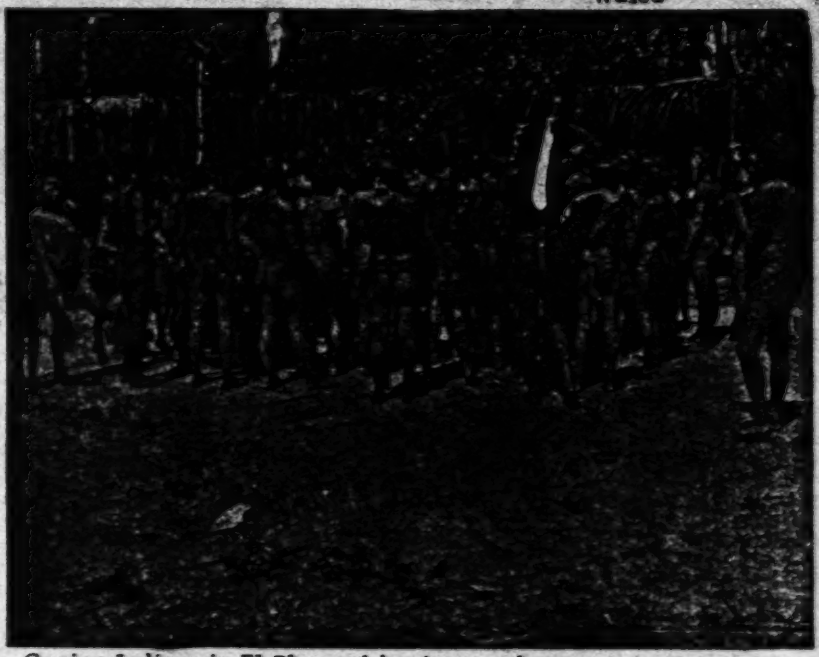

Guaica Indians in El Platanal buying machetes.

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291
516
302
142

A group of Guaica natives surrounding James Barker.

9:Greller K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ (8)
Makiritare SS 20
Guahariho
[P.90]
y 439 M 439 438

Pedlars trading with Advanced Makiritares		Advanced Makiritares trading with Pedlars		Advanced Makiritares trading with Less Advanced Makiritares		Less Advanced Makiritares trading with Advanced Makiritares		Less Advanced Makiritares trading with Guaharibos	Guaharibos trading with Less Advanced Makiritares	
Sell	Buy	Sell	Buy	Sell	Buy	Sell	Buy	Sell	Buy	Sell	Buy
Nails	Dug-out Canoes	Nails			Baskets		Pots		Bows and Arrows		Hatchets
Adzes	*Manioc*	Adzes			Finery		Glassware				Machetes
Hatchets	Casabe	Aspirin			Blow-pipes		Mirrors				Knives
Machetes	Baskets	Rum			Resins		Combs				Sewing Thread
Pots	Finery				Bows and Arrows						Fishing Line
Knives	Blow-pipes		Hatchets				Hatchets				Fish Hooks
Glassware	Resins		Machetes				Machetes				
Cotton Goods	Gum (Chicle)		Pots				Knives				
Aspirin			Knives				Sewing Thread				
Rum			Glassware				Fishing Line				
Mirrors			Cotton Goods				Fish Hooks				
Combs			Mirrors								
Sewing Thread			Combs								
Fishing Line			Sewing Thread								
Fish Hooks			Fishing Line								
			Fish Hooks								

Table drawn up by J. M. Cruxent showing the barter objects in most common use among the Cunucunuma Makiritare Indians. It will be noticed that hatchets, machetes, knives, threads, and fish hooks are the only goods of industrial manufacture to reach certain of the Guaharibo Indians, who, for their part, offer nothing but bows and arrows in exchange.

[P. 91 - 105 not processed]

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ 18
Waica

It was on July 15th that we encountered our first Waikas. We were sailing close under the left bank during the late afternoon when we heard hoarse cries near by. Two naked Indians with faces and bodies painted violet showed themselves among the trees. With excited gestures and brandishing their bows, they motioned us to come closer.

"*Shori! Shori!*" they shouted.

"*Shori! Shori!*" we repeated and held up machetes for them to see.

By the time we had found a suitable landing-place on the bank the two had become six—six young men laughing, shouting and jostling each other excitedly. All were painted. While we were still making fast, they plunged into the water and hoisted themselves aboard. We gave them machetes and *manioc* and they gave us bows and arrows in return. Judging from the way they fingered our clothes, boots and beards we must have appeared very peculiar creatures to them. All the time they kept saying "*Shori! Shori!*" and we responded as in a litany, "*Shori!*"

Physically the Waika is no different from the Guaharibo. He has the same stocky body and contrasting thin legs. His hair is cut monk-fashion with the top of the head shaven. He wears no clothes but a string of forest cotton which serves as a belt and keeps his privy member tied upwards by means of a knot round the prepuce. On his arms above the elbow he wears a bangle of tightly woven cotton, monkey's fur or bird's skin. His ears are pierced to take ear-rings of reed. Sometimes a bunch of different coloured parakeet's feathers, or toucan's feathers, is used for this purpose. Occasionally he will wear a belt of cotton threads died with ochre. At first we thought this to be a badge of rank or authority, but later we saw so many of these garments and they were offered so readily as barter that we had to revise this idea. Another frequent form of adornment is the pelt of a capuchin monkey worn on the head like a tiara. And all of these ornaments, besides bows and arrows, were freely offered to us in exchange for knives, necklaces and matches.

The bow is the Waika's only weapon. Made of strong,

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ 18
Waica

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415
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516

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TOP: Women of the "Platanal". Notice the household goods. The two types of hammock are clearly shown. *(Photograph by H.M. King Leopold)*

BOTTOM: Swapping. The little things we brought excited curiosity and greed. *(Photograph by J. Grelier)*

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9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

his jungle intimately—where to find palm dates, cocos and brazil nuts in their season, and where game birds are most plentifully found. He hunts the herds of peccary, his ear, versed in all the sounds of the forest, detecting his prey before they detect him. When the water in the rivers is low he shoots his fish with arrows and when the sand banks are uncovered he hunts tortoise eggs buried in the sand. His interminable wanderings are limited only by his forest lore; he lives only for the day, his sole reserve of food being a small store of bananas brought from the village plantation.

Platanal

As we closed the shore our reception was tumultuous. From the high bank above us the Indians leaped yelling into the water and clambered on board, shaking themselves like wet dogs. Laughing and gesticulating they took hold of our mooring lines. Though some of us were a little overcome by this display of exuberance, Butrón was not in the least disconcerted. He knew that the Indians had long learned to associate him with machetes and *manioc*. As soon as it was possible to do so, Butrón had a basket of *manioc* and a dozen machetes carried ashore, and the Indians who had already begun to ransack our cargo left it and hurried ashore.

"*Shori! Manioco! Oji!*" they cried striking their bellies. They jostled round the basket, stuffing handfuls of the coarse flour into their mouths, their heads thrown back in ecstasy.

As the Waïka have no knowledge of contriving the simplest of iron tools, or of grinding *manioc*, all such articles were highly valued objects of barter. So were matches, once they had been shown how to use them.

Butrón told them we wanted the large green bananas which are eaten cooked; the accepted tariff is three hands of bananas for one machete. Before long, we heard some of the natives making merry in the plantation, and made as if to follow them. But at once the others became suspicious and gestured to us to return to the river bank. We insisted and they became menacing, finally refusing to go on gathering the bananas if we did not desist.

This is also supported by[30] meagre
historical evidence bearing on the aboriginal inhabitants of this area. Several distinguished Europeans explored portions of the area under consideration and all of them were familiar with the existence of the Yąnomamö in the Orinoco headwaters. None of them, however, reported that Yąnomamö Indians were living in the Mavaca Basin. Alexander Humboldt, who ascended the Casiquiare Canal in 1800, discussed the area of the Mavaca headwaters as one frequently used by Indians of the 'Portuguese Missions' as the route between the Causabury headwaters to Esmeralda (on the Orinoco River) by way of the Mavaca River. The aromatic seeds of the puchery laurel were seasonally gathered near Esmeralda and sold in Brazil (Humboldt, 1281, Vol. 5, pt. 1, pp. 308-9).

So well known was this route that Robert Schomburgk intended to follow it in 1839 to reach the Rio Negro from Esmeralda, hoping to avoid the 200 miles that the Casiquiare route would have added to his journey. He was dissuaded from doing so by the residents of Esmeralda, who, knowing both the route and the seasonal variations in the river, assured him that the trip would be impossible at that time of the year (Schomburgk, 1840 :244).

Richard Spruce ascended the Paciba River, a branch of the Casiquiare Canal that has its source near the Mavaca River, in 1854 and found the upper reaches of the river inhabited by several Aruak-speaking tribes (1908:425, 427).

The first evidence that the Yąnomamö had penetrated

[i.e. Shamatari expansion south of the Orinoco R. - Analyst]

Numerically, the Yąnomamö[33] are one of the largest unacculturated tribes in South America, having a total population that approaches 10,000 in both Venezuela and Brazil. Most Yąnomamö live in Venezuela, occupying the area drained by the upper Orinoco, Mavaca, Manaviche, Ocamo, Padamo and Ventuari Rivers in the state of Amazonas, and the headwaters of the Caura and Paragua rivers of Estado Bolivar. In several drainages (Paragua, Caura, Ventuari and Padamo) the Yąnomamö are in contact with other tribes speaking Carib languages (Makiritare and Arekuna or Taulipang), from whom the Yąnomamö have traditionally obtained steel tools in trade and from whom a number of culture traits have been borrowed. Zerries has painstakingly analyzed these traits in his 1964 work.

No systematic census has been made of the entire Yąnomamö language family, although James P. Barker was commissioned by the Venezuelan Government to compile a census of the Yąnomamö occupying the Amazonas territory of that country. By both actual head-count and estimates of village size for groups that topography prevented him from visiting, Barker presently estimates the Venezuelan Amazonas Yąnomamö population to be well over 7,000.[1]

The population in Amazonas is distributed in some 80 to 100 villages, averaging between 60 and 100 people per village.[2] Villages occasionally contain as few as 40 people

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[1] Personal communication. See Zerries (1964:5) for a discussion of Yąnomamö population size. He concludes that the Yąnomamö are ". . . the largest yet unacculturated aboriginal group in tropical South America." (Ibid. My translation.)

[2] The relationship to warfare tactics and village size is discussed in detail in Chapter 4.

11: Chagnon - E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

that I had to become very much like the Yąnomamö to be able to get along with them on their terms: sly, aggressive, and intimidating. 114 123

Had I failed to adjust in this fashion I would have lost six months of supplies to them in a single day or would have spent most of my time ferrying them around in my canoe or hunting for them. As it was, I did spend a considerable amount of time doing these things and did succumb to their outrageous demands for axes and machetes, at least at first. More importantly, had I failed to demonstrate that I could not be pushed around beyond a certain point, I would have been the subject of far more ridicule, theft, and practical jokes than was the actual case. In short, I had to acquire a certain proficiency in their kind of interpersonal politics and to learn how to imply subtly that certain potentially undesirable consequences might follow if they did such and such to me. They do this to each other in order to establish precisely the point at which they cannot goad an individual any further without precipitating retaliation. As soon as I caught on to this and realized that much of their aggression was stimulated by their desire to discover my flash point; I got along much better with them and regained some lost ground. It was sort of like a political game that everyone played, but one in which each individual sooner or later had to display some sign that his bluffs and implied threats could be backed up. I suspect that the frequency of wife beating is a component of this syndrome, since men can display their ferocity and show others that they are capable of violence. Beating a wife with a club is considered to be an acceptable way of displaying ferocity and one that does not expose the male to much danger. The important thing is that the man has displayed his potential for violence and the implication is that other men better treat him with respect and caution. 114 123 152 [593]

After six months, the level of demand was tolerable in the village I used for my headquarters. The Indians and I adjusted to each other and knew what to expect with regard to demands on their part for goods, favors, and services. Had I confined my fieldwork to just that village alone, the field experience would have been far more enjoyable. But, as I was interested in the demographic pattern and social organization of a much larger area, I made regular trips to some dozen different villages in order to collect genealogies or to recheck those I already had. Hence, the intensity of begging and intimidation was fairly constant for the duration of the fieldwork. I had to establish my position in some sort of pecking order of ferocity at each and every village. 114 121 123

For the most part, my own "fierceness" took the form of shouting back at the Yąnomamö as loudly and as passionately as they shouted at me, especially at first, when I did not know much of their language. As I became more proficient in their language and learned more about their political tactics, I became more sophisticated in the art of bluffing. For example, I paid one young man a machete to cut palm trees and make boards from the wood. I used these to fashion a platform in the bottom of my dugout canoe to keep my possessions dry when I traveled by river. That afternoon I was doing informant work in the village; the long-awaited mission supply boat arrived, and most of the Indians ran out of the village to beg goods from the crew. I continued to work in the village for another hour or so and went down to the river to say "hello" to the men on the supply boat. I was angry when I discovered that the Indians had chopped up all my palm boards and used them to paddle their own canoes[5] across the river. I knew that if 114 123 [799]

[5]The canoes were obtained from missionaries, who, in turn, got them from a different tribe. [501] [439]

Today, however, steel tools are quite common, being provided by the several missionaries who have recently located posts at a number of locations in Yąnomamö territory. The tools that they give to their local people are eventually traded inland to more remote villages so that all the Yąnomamö, even those who have not yet had any direct contact with outsiders, now have steel tools.[7] Before the missionaries arrived, the Yąnomamö occasionally obtained steel tools from the Carib-speaking Makiritare Indians, who have long been in contact with civilization. Some of the Makiritare made periodic canoe trips in the last century as far east as Georgetown in order to obtain these tools. Kąobawä told me that when he was a young man, his village had a single piece of steel, a portion of a broken machete that came ultimately from the Makiritare Indians by way of several intermediate Yąnomamö villages. Everybody in the village used this tool when they made their gardens. It was hafted on a split stick and used as an axe. I have seen broken machetes used in this fashion in the more remote, steel-poor villages.

The Yąnomamö usually fell the big trees toward the end of the wet season, although I have seen them do it at all times of the year. In general, the clearing of the land tends to be an activity of the wet season while the burning is done during the dry season, but this schedule is by no means rigorous. An adequate burning can be achieved at the peak of the rainy season, provided that there are two days of sunshine in succession. The dead brush and the leaves of the large trees dry out rather quickly in the sun, provided that they have been lying on the ground for a sufficiently long period of time. The trunks of the large trees are never burned, so that a newly cleared garden is strewn with logs lying helter-skelter all over the cleared patch. These serve as boundaries between individual gardens, as the crops belong to the person who plants them.

Each man clears his own land. Brothers will usually clear adjacent portions of land and, if their father is still living, his garden will be among theirs. The headman of the village generally has the largest garden, as he must produce larger quantities of food; he is obliged to give food away at feasts. He can frequently enlist the aid of other men to help him make a large garden. Kąobawä, for example, is helped by a younger brother, a brother-in-law, and the latter's son. Once in a while one of his sisters who lives in a different village visits for a long stretch of time, and her son-in-law also helps Kąobawä work in the garden during these visits.

After the brush has dried out and the larger trees felled, the portable timber and brush is gathered up into piles and burned, each man having several fires going in his own patch, to which he hauls the brush as he gathers it up. Usually, the fires are built under or next to one of the larger logs. In this way the logs dry out even more completely and can be easily chopped up by the women for firewood. The ashes are not scattered to improve soil fertility.

If the new site is a great distance from the previous garden, the men will have to make numerous trips between the two sites in order to transport the plantain cuttings. If an ally's village is closer to the new garden site, some cuttings can be borrowed from his gardens, thereby reducing the transportation labor. Each mature plantain or banana plant sends out suckers which sprout a few feet away from the adult stalk. When the Yąnomamö cut the bunch of plantains or bananas from the producing plant, they also cut the entire plant down to permit the younger suckers to receive the sunlight. The larger

[7] One missionary told me that he has given the residents of his village approximately 3000 machetes over the past eight years! These are traded inland to more remote Yąnomamö.